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The Crisis In Great Britain

A SERIES of major disturbances is hastening the collapse of British capitalism. Mr. Lansbury, leader of the Labor Party in Parliament, said in the House of Commons that "the imports and exports are the lowest on record." The boycott in India against British manufactures, especially textiles, the growing independence, and in many cases competition of Canada, Australia and the other colonies against English products, the erection of international tariff barriers has sharpened the crisis in England. Depending primarily upon foreign trade, she was bound to feel the effects of the crisis even more keenly than the other nations. In its efforts to save itself from ruin, British capitalism is resorting to cuts in wages, unemployment insurance, and in social services, and is increasing the already heavy burden of taxation.

Prime Minister MacDonald, in answer to the protests against the new social laws, is quoted in the "London Times" as saying: "We had to produce the budget balanced, and we did it. Whatever hardships and unfairness may have been inflicted, we have kept the economic foundations of the country intact and sound."

What is the true significance of MacDonald's words.—"The economic foundations of the country have been kept intact and sound." The G.M.P. Coates \$100,000,000 cotton combine, is still paying twelve cents dividend on its common stock, an increase over the dividends of last year. The yearly dividends of ten percent is also being paid. The railroads declared a dividend of \$165,000,000 for 1931, and is tentively set at the same figure this year. The coal operators are still paying dividends of five to six percent. Upon whom is the "unfairness and hardship" inflicted? Ramsay MacDonald apologizes for the infamous Means tests:

"It is a poor thing," he confesses, "but nevertheless we can say that as a National Government, we have staved off the three million (unemployment) level for at least twelve months."

Considering that Mr. Lansbury is quoted in the same issue of the London "Labor Herald" as saying in the House of Commons that he, "that very day had seen figures on unemployment in such places as Poplar, and Bermondsey which gave seventeen percent of the workers unemployed" considering that he accuses MacDonald of getting the unemployed by "various tricks off the relief lists and thus keeping statistics down below the three million level"—

considering all this, the statements made by the Prime Minister are deliberate lies.

The maternity death rate is the highest in Europe. One out of every five persons is living in a house unfit for human habitation. Despite the fact that three hundred and fifty thousand men in the building trades are out of work. In order to preserve the economic foundation of the country "intact and sound" wage cuts of ten, fifteen, and twenty percent are being made all along the line. The workers in the textile mills labor forty-eight hours a week for less than \$7.50. The miserable pittance which the unemployed receive in the form of doles, has been so reduced that a married man with two children gets five dollars and forty cents per week, while many are altogether excluded from the relief lists. Rock bottom has been reached. The workers cannot take further cuts in wages and doles without starving. The capitalists can give unemployment insurance ONLY at the expense of the workers. When the workers can not foot the bills the doles must either be cut or wiped out. In the face of these facts, all talk about unemployment insurance, doles, or "relief" is ludicrous. A mortal struggle between labor and capitalism is inevitable. Both sides have reached the limit as far as concessions to each other are concerned. It follows naturally that strikes, riots and hunger marches should occur. Already strikes have taken place at the Lancashire textile mills, unemployment riots at Belfast, Bristols, London, Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow.

The unemployed marched to London to demand relief. When they arrived, they were welcomed by Sir Oswald Mosely's Black Shirts and the police. The London "Labor Herald" describes the scene as follows:

They (the police) had motor bikes charging the crowd as if it were an armed crowd, and horse patrols with long staves which they used effectively . . . The people who went into the houses did so simply to escape . . . people opened their doors and allowed them (unemployed) to go in . . . Police began to batter down the doors to get at the people who went inside."

The unemployed do not seem to realize that the government and the capitalists are responsible for their misery and can give them nothing more than such receptions.

The reformers and chalatanes of all stripes are calling for relief in the hope that they will be able to stave off the social revolution. Will our "practical friends," the reformists, now that MacDonald is producing the "budget balanced" continue like Mr. Lansbury to protest in Parliament that the police were too rough and should have been more gentle with the demonstrators? Or will our "militant friends," the Communists, dissipate the bravery and fearlessness of the desperate masses in futile demonstrations for doles in front of Parliament, which invariably lead to defeat and discouragement?

Any party or group that struggles for anything less than the social revolution, or obscures the issue in order to get support is consciously or unconsciously betraying the working class and rendering it ineffective in its fight against capitalism.

The British Labor movement was strong enough to conduct a general strike in 1926; it was strong enough to elect traitors a la MacDonald to Parliament; why is it so helpless now? A revolutionary spirit cannot be developed when its energies are absorbed in scramble for more votes, and in struggling for the enactment of petty reforms. The Anarchist approach to the problem of revo-

lution is now in order. The British labor movement must rid itself of all political affiliations, and reorganize itself on the basis of direct action through mass organizations. The struggle for immediate demands must be subordinated to the struggle for the social revolution. It must expropriate the expropriators abolish the state, and conduct life on the basis of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs."

S. WEINER
E. WEINER

The Lesson of Chicago

ONCE AGAIN, we approach the day of martyrs. Our thoughts are irresistibly drawn towards the Lake of Michigan, where in the City of Mammon and exploitation our brothers breathed their last on the historic Eleventh of November. At the behest of the ruling class of Chicago they were murdered in the Cook County jail. The cowards and dupes of the laboring class acquiesced in the five-fold murder, and scoundrelism reigned supreme.

Brothers and sisters, let us beware of the wise soothsayers in the labor movement who appear each year to assure us that by commemorating the day of execution of our comrades we imitate the Church which honors its alleged saints.

Parsons, Lingg, Engel, Spies and Fischer died for our cause; they lost their lives spreading our ideals and our inspiration. If in honoring the memory of these men, we commit the crime of idolatry, let us plead guilty.

The sceptical critic, who does not perceive the significance of this day, is beyond redemption. We are indeed aware that before and after November Eleventh men and women in every part of the world have sacrificed their lives by the hundreds and thousands for the good of humanity. But we also know that the infamous scoundrel Gary spoke the truth when in overruling the motion for a new trial he declared:

"This case is without precedent. There is no example in the law books of a case of this sort. No such occurrence has ever happened before in the history of the world."

Verily the infamy of the five-fold murder is without parallel. It rang the death knell of the judicial system.

Yes, we plead guilty. We try to emulate our martyred comrades in their work and deeds—unworthy as we may otherwise be.

* * *

But what shall we say to those youthful wiseacres in the labor movement who, proud of their knowledge acquired in the School of Ignorance, fancy they have reached a better understanding of the social question than our comrades had in their hour of struggle; those modern heroes who, imagine that their methods in the fight with capitalism are far superior to those of the revolutionary workers of forty-five years ago?

In reading the speeches of our comrades delivered on the threshold of death, and in glancing over the history of the historic trial by Dyer D. Lum, I am again and again impressed with the deep knowledge of these men, their broad vision, their intellectual attainment, and especially with their sound

judgment of the social question. In what have we improved on them? Has the preamble of any organization improved on the program of the Anarchistic Working People's Party founded in 1883, at Pittsburgh?

"Destruction of the existing class rule by energetic, relentless, revolutionary action.

Establishment of a free society based upon a co-operative system of production.

Free exchange of equivalent products, by and between the productive organizations, without commerce and profit-mongery.

Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Equal rights for all, without distinction of sex or race.

Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous independent communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis."

In these days of cheap sensationalism and intellectual prostitution, we are accustomed to sneers at the antiquated tactics of Anarchists. But we wish our critics would demonstrate where and how they have improved on our theory and methods as preached and propagated by our Chicago comrades and by the Anarchists since then. August Spies' words are as true today as they were forty-five years ago:

"We have interpreted to the people their conditions and relations in society. We have explained to them the different social phenomena and the social laws and circumstances under which they occur. We have by way of scientific investigation incontrovertibly proved and brought to their knowledge that the system of wages is the root of the present social iniquities—iniquities so monstrous that they cry to heaven. We have further said that the wage system, as a specific form of social development, would, by the necessity of logic, have to give way to higher forms of civilization; that the wage system must furnish the foundation for a social system of voluntary co-operation; that whether this or that theory, this or that scheme regarding future arrangements were accepted was not a matter of choice, but one of historic necessity; and that to use the tendency of progress seemed to be Anarchism—that is, a free society without kings or classes—a society of sovereigns in which liberty and economic equality of all would furnish an unshakable equilibrium as a foundation for natural order."

* * *

Many of the fighters have become disillusioned and disappointed. Their vision has been obscured by a number of defeats. The very intensity with which they fought for the Ideal brought about a sharp reaction. They await the social revolution and do not notice that they are living in its very midst. If only their vision could expand; if they could but look freely at the social horizon; they would behold an immense change since the fateful day of 1887.

Whenever an Anarchist agitator is killed or imprisoned, whenever an Anarchist paper succumbs to persecution; the enemy cries: "Anarchy is dead!" What blindness, what folly! The idea of Anarchy is inherent in the soul of man. To destroy this idea would mean to destroy every aspiration for a higher life, every hope for freedom; it would mean to destroy life itself. Anarchy was from the beginning, is now, and will be forever. Our self-imposed duty is to make mankind conscious of it. In this work, we find ourselves in company with the best and greatest spirits of any time. Our Chicago martyrs knew

for what they died; they went to death in a serene and joyful state of mind. Our pleasure it is to follow in their footsteps—not whining for our dead friends, but proud to be their companions in the struggle for emancipation.

HIPPOLYTE HAVEL

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE DEGENERATION of the U.M.W.A. is illustrated by the facts that in 1921, seventy-five percent of all soft coal was mined by union labor, whereas today less than ten percent is union mined. Since 1921, the membership of the U.M.W.A. has declined from about 500,000 to 150,000.

On the tenth of August, the Lewis-Walker machine contrary to the will of the rank and file, agreed to accept a cut in the basic wage scale from six to five dollars per day. In view of the fact that the miners work only four or five days a month, such a wage cut was criminal. The miners of northern Illinois refused to accept the reduction. The smouldering resentment burst into flames of revolt. In September, 206 delegates representing approximately 32,000 miners, met in Gillespie, Ill., and organized the Progressive Mine Workers of America. The new union ordered a strike and declared war on the U.M.W.A.

The explosion of a bomb in the Taylorville Breeze mine (probably planted by the bosses) became the pretext for calling out two companies of the Illinois National Guards and placed the whole mining section under martial supervision. Around Springfield where the militant miners are large in numbers, the authorities and the bosses have some respect for their power. Conditions are not so bad as in Southern and Eastern Illinois where in some cases the miners were forced to work at the reduced scale often at the point of a gun. Therefore, the miners of Northern Illinois formed an expedition of 10,000 people in an automobile parade forty-five miles long in order to inspire their brother miners and enlist their solidarity. On the way, these unarmed men, women and children were ambushed with machine guns and bombs. One miner was killed, 17 are missing, and many were wounded. The bosses, the state and the Lewis-Walker machine were directly responsible for this atrocious crime.

The second convention of the P.M.W.A. has accepted the Lewis-Walker wage scale. A considerable mixture of socialists and C.P.L.A.'ites supported them. The reactionary leadership is destroying the revolutionary spirit of the rank and file. However their militancy is not yet altogether extinguished. The revolt against the U.M.W.A. is encouraging. It presages the collapse of the A. F. of L. and indicates the renaissance of class consciousness. The fact that the miners of West Virginia and Nova Scotia lend their solidarity, shows that the movement is not local in character.

The miners must learn that the new union can become just as reactionary as the old if they continue to place their faith in politicians and milk and water liberals of all descriptions. If the miners wish to obtain their objectives, they must eradicate every trace of bureaucracy and faint heartedness from amongst them. They must maintain and develop their militancy. They should jealously guard their independence and learn from the not too distant past.

E. S.

ANYONE, who is even cursorially acquainted with diplomatic verbiage, will understand what the proposal of the Lytton Report to establish an international police force in order to preserve "law and order" in Manchuria means. Those, who maintain that the "League of Nations" is an international body for the promotion of "good-will and harmony" among the nations, should now see how helpless the League is in the face of a clash of interests between imperialistic powers. It is doing nothing but lip service to liberty and justice.

The true significance of the Lytton report is that the other powers demand a share in the booty in Manchuria and China. It is possible that Japan under threat may agree to share the spoils. Then again, should she succeed in making an alliance with some of the imperialistic powers, she may refuse to accede to the demands of the report. In that event, we may expect another world-wide conflagration even more terrible than the preceeding one.

In addition, the Lytton report unmistakably reveals a fear of the rising class-consciousness of the Chinese masses. The long-suffering, inarticulate masses of China are beginning to challenge the rule of imperialism. This is the only ray of light penetrating the darkness. The rising tide of revolution throughout the world will throw the parasites from off the backs of the masses and usher in a new era in which such cynical comedies as the "League of Nations" and its Lytton reports will be impossible.

E. S.

WHATEVER the true nature of the outbreaks at the Kingston, Ont., prison may be, it should be, by now, clear to all that even in the most model prisons, riots will sporadically spring up, either to change oppressive conditions or to attempt a break. That all prison systems are rotten is evident. Unfortunately the only possible way to make people good is by first making the world good.

It might seem astounding that despite the rigid discipline enforced by the incessant watchfulness of guards, stool-pigeons, and stern punishment on discovery, the spirit of revolt still lives in prisoners. It finds ways for them to meet, conspire together and attempt concerted action. No matter how oppressive and stultifying an effect, a condition imposed on a group may have, it remains an inherent characteristic of man to battle it. For it is the very nature of life. It is the spirit of Anarchy.

That man can be made good by punishment or preaching is a fallacy proved conclusively by the Church in its two thousand years of salvation work. The only way to atrophy the evil in human nature is to change the social and cultural conditions that mold it.

R. W.

IN ORDER to provide an opportunity for our readers to express their opinions on issues discussed in our publication, we plan to devote as much as our limited space permits to an open forum.

Please be as brief as possible. Youth groups are urged to respond.

SAYS NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER in the *New York Times*: "When a condition has been reached whereby in these United States more than one quarter of the whole earnings of the nations people is taken for the support of governmental activities—Federal, State and Local—surely the time has come for the people to act and to act with speed and an emphasis that will not be denied."

It takes more than statistics to give a true picture of what government extracts from us. It is responsible for ninety-nine percent of all murder, prostitution, misery and disease rampant in modern society. Ask the boys sleeping in "Flanders Fields" how much government has cost them.

Yes, Doctor, the time IS COMING when the people will "ACT AND ACT WITH SPEED AND AN EMPHASIS THAT WILL NOT BE DENIED."

The Futility of the Ballot

(Concluded)

IN THE previous issue, by analyzing the programs of three of the major parties who are appealing to the workers, or rather the People, for their vote, I developed the idea that the ballot can bring the worker no benefit. I pointed out that there is no difference between the programs of the Democrats and the Republicans in spite of their mutual animosity insofar as the workers are concerned. Both mean to preserve the privileges of the rich even to the point of shooting those workers who try to win with too much fervor some slight gain. I showed that the Socialists were impractical in their demands for immediate relief (urging a mere ten billion dollars for relief and public works, which the bankers are, of course, very desirous of giving away), and that they advocated no basic changes in the present system, but only some reforms that can succeed, perhaps, in setting back the date of the inevitable crash, but cannot altar the inevitability of the crash.

And now we must consider the Communists. Theirs is the one party that still claims to be revolutionary, so it is very important that we examine their program carefully. And when we pass judgment upon them, it must be from the standpoint of the revolutionist, of the dispossessed, of the workers who are working and the workers who are not.

Their biggest bid for support in the present campaign, and the one that is most important, is their plank advocating unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and the employer.

Bismark, apparently, was wiser than the Communists. Without any precedent to guide him, he knew that he could check the growing revolutionary spirit of the German workers by introducing a series of social insurance reforms. Today, the Communists, with a more scientific (?) outlook on history, intend to foster the revolutionary spirit of the American workers by winning for them social insurance of one sort or another. We cannot believe that the Communists do not know what the results of unemployment insurance are; therefore we can only believe that the Communists are deliberately forsaking the revolutionary course for the opportunistic business of getting more votes.

Are they not aware of the fact that a system of unemployment insurance gives the government an almost unlimited control of the worker? That strikes can be broken at will by sending in the unemployed or threatening them with suspension of insurance if they refuse? That the state will become the symbol of all hope and help, and thus stifle any desire for independent action and solidarity that the workers may still possess?

But far worse than this, the Communists are continuing and fostering a fallacy that all capitalist apologists have been nursing along for years and protecting from revolutionary onslaughts. The advocacy of unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and the employer implies that the worker is not paying for it. This permits the worker to think that he is wresting wealth from someone; wealth that does not belong to him but to someone else. How can he, under such circumstances, ever learn that he is the true creator of all wealth, insofar as his labor fashions everything, and his needs as a consumer create the demands that give commodities value? How will the worker ever learn that everything belongs to him *by right* and that his historic role is not that of cringing and begging for a part of what is his, but rather that of rising to his full strength and possessing himself of all that rightly belongs to him?

In other words, this plank, which implicitly admits the right of the employer to own, control, and exploit property (and therefore those without property, the workers), will befuddle the workers and hide from them the fact that they are being robbed and exploited. And in return, the Communists only ask for a scanty meal of bread and soup. Such is the sickly significance of unemployment insurance.

But the Communists claim that they advocate it, not because they believe in it so much, but because they want to draw more people into their ranks, more votes for their candidates. If this is true, I can say only that as politicians they are pikers. Even as an Anarchist I know better. I may not be an expert political judge, but I feel quite sure that if they would come out in favor of the Methodists, or the Christian Scientists, or even Mr. Hoover, they would poll a much greater vote than by merely advocating unemployment insurance. And if they would only angle for Mr. Hearst's support by advocating a larger army and navy, I might almost venture an overwhelming victory for the new Grand Old Party (G. O. P.).

I grant that it is important for a movement to grow, to draw in more members. But on what basis? The Communists knew, or ought to know, that the people who support them when advocating unemployment insurance, will not support them when advocating revolution, which may be violent, bloody, and ugly. They will not be supported because the two ideals are incompatible: one aims at maintaining and preserving by reforms, the present system; the other at overthrowing it.

This policy of gaining votes at the expense of ideals may succeed in getting votes, but will bring the Communists no nearer their goal since the motion of marking the ballot can only help to maintain the myth of democracy and hide the real nature of the mailed fist of capitalism, *i.e.*, the fact that the capitalists control the press and therefore the opinions of the people, that they do not hesitate to use force whenever they are opposed in industry, etc. . .

As for the rest of their program, the Communists show themselves to be impractical, irrelevant, and contradictory in regard to their original aim in framing it.

They are impractical when they favor emergency relief for the farmer without restrictions by governments or banks. They propose to do this by exempting the impoverished farmers from taxes and prohibiting the forced collection of rent and debt.

By trying, or claiming to try, to solve the problems raised by the contradictions of capitalism, of which they are well aware, they are undertaking even more than the old miracle makers would care to do. They will find themselves forced to work according to the impossible, mutually conflicting rules imposed by the bankers and industrialists to whom they will have to turn for that support that any government needs in order to exist. For, were they to win, let us say, an election in some state, or states, they would find that, before they could relieve the impoverished farmers of their taxes, or prevent the forced collection of rent debts, they would first have to consult with the bankers for the extension of credits with which to carry on. And if we find those very same bankers imposing such strict conditions on ordinary capitalistic governments, what sort of cooperation, what kind of conditions would the bankers offer to a government pledged to prevent the collection of their own capital and interest? The result would be complete submission to the bankers just as we find elsewhere. Therefore we find it inevitable that anyone, including the Communists, who tries to play ball under the rules of capitalism will have to stick to the rules laid down by the capitalists.

My second point is that the Communists are irrelevant. At a time like this, with official figures stating that over 11,000,000 are unemployed, with farmers in revolt and crops not harvested, with the growth of industrial unrest, and about 45,000,000 people without any income, starving, to come out in defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union is ridiculous. To expect people who are starving and whose only prospects are a cold winter without shelter, with old clothes, and only a breadline as a source of food, to get excited about people on the other side of the world, shows a lack of that much vaunted materialistic realism that the Marxists are always yelling about. . . . If their purpose is to give the American worker an international outlook; why pick out only China and Russia? What about Nicaragua and Haiti, Cuba and the Philippines,, India and Egypt, and all the other oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and the Americas?

Finally, I want to point out that the Communists were contradictory in regard to their own aim in framing their program. They claim that they advocated unemployment insurance to gain votes. If this was their real aim, why did they proceed to alienate the vote of all the southern whites by defending the equal rights of the Negro? They should first try to attract the vote of the southern white on some other, milder issue. Then, once they have gained their confidence and won their vote on election day, they ought to try to teach them how wrong it is to deny the Negro his equal rights. That might not be the approach of the revolutionist who really wants to fight for the oppressed, but it would be consistent with their other "tactics." They claim that they are going to make fire-eating, irreconcilable opponents to capitalism of all the reformers who will vote for their unemployment insurance plank.

Finally, let me point out that the Communists don't really want to win. They claim to laugh at the whole procedure of so-called democracy. If so, it means that they are insincere in what they advocate. Therefore, I should advise all those who are still convinced of the blessings of the Communist program, to vote, not for the Communists, but for the Socialists, who advocate everything that the Communists do (except the defense of the Chinese people), and more of the same sort calculated to soften the sharp edges of capitalism and make the

workers turn from the revolutionary movement. The Socialists at least believe sincerely in the value of the ballot and political action. They may be blind to the evils of their course, they may be afraid of advocating more direct action, they may be only poor little reformers who are trying to reconcile the evils of capitalism regardless of the harm such vacillation causes to real revolutionary movement, but, after all, so are all who believe in the ballot blind, cowardly, and vacillating.

As for the Communists, I can only say that this was the logical step for them to take. Any party that persists in using, or trying to use, parliamentary action, must, sooner or later, begin to show a greater interest in getting votes than in maintaining ideals. Compromise is essential for, and in the very nature of such action. The lust for votes is bound to supersede the mere "educational" factor in political campaigns.

There was a time when the Communists were revolutionary. That was the time when they emphasized industrial action and subordinated political action. But the latter is, after all, the more spectacular field; it is less strenuous and dangerous; it is "legal." So the Communists have abated their activities on the industrial front; they seem to be abandoning it gradually. . . . And if they continue along their present course a little longer, we will have to draw in some hair-splitting metaphysicians to differentiate between the Communists and the Socialists.

And now a few words about the Anarchist approach to the problem of immediate demands. The impression might have been gained, by our analysis of political parties and by our position on parliamentary action, that the Anarchists are revolutionists who live only for the future revolution. Such an impression, however, is erroneous. The Anarchists recognize the fact that we are living today and therefore must modify our conditions as much as possible, to make living as endurable as it can be made for the workers under capitalism. This they hold in common with the Communists, Socialists, and even those reformers who want to preserve capitalism. But there is a difference between the Anarchist methods of making such changes and that of the others. Only the Anarchists seem to appreciate the irreconcilable opposition of the interests of the workers and the capitalists. They recognize that any gains made by the workers can be made only by forcing concessions from the employers. And they claim that the most effective way to win such concessions is, not by voting for the "friends of labor," but by striking. Even if the laws are passed, they are of little value, since they may be evaded in so many ways, and their enforcement is generally so weak. But when the workers win some concession in the shop, factory, or mine, there is little chance for the employer to cheat them of their victory.

Therefore we advocate the organization of the workers into industrial unions, through which they will fight for immediate demands by means of the strike. Such a course will give the workers that feeling of solidarity that is indispensable for a successful revolutionary movement; it will expose the oppressive, exploiting nature of capitalism and train the workers for the ultimate struggle. It will discard the shams and hypocracies of democracy that today shield the capitalists by hiding the real issues that face society. There will then be two armed camps. Nor will any issues that belong to no man's land, such as prohibition or foreign invasion scares be capable of distracting the workers.

The scene will finally be clear for action—and may the exploited deal more kindly with the exploiters than they were dealt with in all these long centuries!

ABE COLEMAN

Anarchist - Communism

(Concluded)

ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM, being in direct contradiction to the institution of the state, cannot employ parliamentary tactics as a means towards its realization. It casts aside as useless and dangerous the idea that a series of gradual and legal changes can bring about the fall of Capitalism, or usher in a new society.

The great struggles in the First International between Marx and Bakunin represented two directly opposing points of view on the tasks and tactics of the working class. In the main, as far as tactics were concerned, they differed in the following respects.

The Marxian faction advocated political action, *i.e.*, electing labor representatives who would support petty reforms. They believed in the centralization of the affairs of the labor bodies into a single directing agency. They advocated the alliance of trade unions with a political party. They conceived of the Socialist State as the necessary link between Capitalism and a free society.

The Bakuninist faction advocated the direct economic action of the working class, *i.e.*, general strikes, sabotage, and armed resistance, through the organized power of the masses, such as revolutionary industrial unions, peasant organizations, etc. They conceived of the labor movement as a federation of workers and farmers bodies, possessing the greatest amount of local autonomy, and the federation of these decentralized units for common action and solidarity as the most desirable form of organization. They held that any state is in its very nature reactionary, and therefore proposed that the mass organizations replace the state in the transitional period between the old and new society.

The history of the labor movement in every country and in every period, shows how well the Bakuninists understood the nature of reformism. What has become of the reformist labor movement? Why have they failed to live up to their "Historical mission?" Despite the fact that the British labor movement was strong enough to paralyze England in the general strike of 1926, we see it reduced to beggary, chasing after doles, dominated by the politicians of the "labor" party, and advocating the most reactionary policies. The British labor movement is standing idly by while British Imperialism is crushing their brother workers in India, Ireland and other colonies.

The great labor movement of Germany, despite its numbers, is helpless in the face of the Fascist menace. Like the labor movement of England it is the plaything of the traitorous Social-Democratic Party. Deprived of its initiative and its revolutionary spirit at a low ebb, it has allowed the politicians to dupe them so that reaction has gained the upper hand. There is no doubt whatever that the World War would never have been fought were these self-same reformist unions revolutionary, and free from the deadening influence of opportunism.

Wherever we turn, in Italy, in Spain, in Germany, we see reaction in the saddle; the revolution thwarted. The greatest obstacle in the path of the revolution has been not so much the conservatives, as these Judases, the "socialists" who are in reality the last bulwark of Capitalism.

The Communist Party of Germany is in a large measure responsible for the rise of Fascism. When the crying need of the hour was a united front of all class conscious workers regardless of party, when only the united working class fighting on the economic field was important, when only the armed resistance of the workers was capable of crushing the reaction, the Communist Party of Germany, by the order of the Moscow bureaucrats, took a long step backward. Knowing that a united front was impossible without them, they laid down the law: either rule or ruin. They insisted upon dominating the entire labor movement of Germany. When the labor movement refused to accept what they called a "united front," the resulting lack of unity among the workers gave the fascists an opportunity to consolidate their forces. The situation was and still is most critical. Either the united front or fascism. The communists refused the united front. The interests of the bureaucracy outweighed the interests of the working class.

Even a revolutionary movement is rendered ineffective when it is dominated by a centralized bureaucracy. When the labor movement is dominated by a political party, it inevitably becomes the football of politics. It is clear to all except "those who will not see" that the downfall of Capitalism, and the establishment of a new society, cannot be accomplished by the use of such tactics. It is clear that political action is one of the greatest impediments in the path of the coming social revolution. Only a fundamental change in the political, economic and social relationships of man, only the social revolution can accomplish what the reformists have failed to do. Nor is a social revolution in itself a guarantee that Anarchist-Communism will be realized. A social revolution can stop short of its objectives, can like a stream, be diverted from its course. The failure to understand the goal of the revolution, or a labor movement brought up in the authoritarian school trained to leave all in the hands of a bureaucratic and corrupt leadership, can so distort the character of a revolution as to render it harmful to the further progress of mankind.

The Russian Revolution shows that despite the heroic struggle of the masses, the revolution failed to achieve its objectives—liberty and well being for all. The Russian labor unions have become blind pawns in the hands of a party dictatorship. The masses are being ground to the dust by the Communist steam roller. The revolution failed because the labor movement was unprepared. They did not understand that the delegation of power into the hand of the state meant the death of the revolution.

There is no record of any great change, any great victory of labor that was won through parliamentary means. The eight hour day, the right to organize, the right of free speech, were the triumphs of direct action.

The early history of the American labor movement is replete with examples of militant direct action. The struggles of the Knights of Labor, the struggles of the Black International which culminated in the Haymarket tragedy, the struggles of the Western Federation of Miners, and of the I.W.W., etc., were mainly responsible for whatever progress the movement has made in America. On the other hand, what has been accomplished by the reformist American

Federation of Labor? The degeneration of the modern labor movement is nowhere so apparent as in the present happenings in the Illinois coal fields. The officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America has joined the bosses and the state in crushing the revolt of the militant rank and file against the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. What really important victory was gained without the direct economic pressure of the working class? To this question history answers—none.

In the light of the struggles and hard won gains of the workers all over the world, the position taken by the Anarchist-Communists is basically sound and therefore fully justified.

The goal of the working class must be the social revolution. The workers must be prepared to overthrow Capitalism through a Social Revolution; must be prepared to conduct the economic life of the country when the time comes. In order to do this, they will be obliged to organize into mass movements such as industrial unions, artels, agrarian co-operatives, etc. The solidarity of the working class must be attained through the federation of autonomous bodies, instead of centralization from the top down. The tactics must correspond to the end in view. The masses, permeated with the revolutionary spirit, must make use of the general strike, sabotage, armed resistance, expropriation, etc. The revolutionary labor movement must become the militant vanguard who by their deeds and intelligence will show the rest of the masses how to help themselves, how to establish a new society. The militant vanguard consisting of mass organizations of workers and peasants takes the place of the bureaucratic party and renders the state unnecessary in the transitional period.

The revolution will be successful to the extent that the workers are prepared for it. A good deal will depend upon the extent to which Anarchist ideas have permeated the social body. A period of intense propaganda and revolutionary struggle is necessary in order to influence the masses. Outside of the labor movement as such, Anarchist-Communism must be propagated among the intelligent youth through study groups, propaganda centers and through the dissemination of literature. The field of education, the co-operative movement, the anti-war leagues, every mass organization, must be invested with a revolutionary character. Anarchists must turn them into organs of successful social revolution.

In a very real sense, we are facing a momentous period in human history. The inevitable social revolution will determine the paths in which mankind will tread for a long time. All depends upon a correct conception of the nature of our tasks and the manner and spirit in which we approach them. "Anarchist-Communism," as Kropotkin so aptly said, "must be the goal of the revolution of the twentieth century."

S. WEINER

News from Spain

IN THE LAST correspondence we informed the readers of the Vanguard regarding the little secret ambition of the Socialist Government, *ie.*, they wanted the C.N.T.* (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo), to become a political organization. They even tried to bribe some of the comrades who were known to have influence upon the workers. Then, when they failed in their objective, the next turn was to attempt to destroy the federation by means of violence.

And the government has not given up the idea of destroying our organization. Recently they tried to enforce a *Social Law* passed in April of this year. It consisted in organizing a committee representing the government, the shop owners, and the workers. The idea was to submit all labor disputes to arbitration. But the trick is obvious to any one. You cannot deceive the Spanish workers who have so much experience in the labor struggle. Who would believe that the government representative would favor the workers? The workers would be the losers in every case. In this case the Minister of Labor wanted to enforce the law. The workers decided not to obey it. Here you find two entities in opposition. The issue was to determine which was the stronger.

The date on which this famous law was to become effective was September 14. You may rest assured that protest meetings and demonstrations took place all over the country. Even the organization affiliated with the Socialist Party protested. Amongst many cases we may mention one that took place in the town of Andalusia, where the U.G.T.* and the C.N.T. declared a local strike as a protest against the *Social Law*. The minister of labor then gave orders to suppress both syndicates. Both Syndicalist and Anarchist papers protested vigorously against the proposed law. They took all measures to rally the workers all over the country and urged them to disobey the law.

The reader may consider how anxious we were on this side of the Atlantic to get some news regarding the real happenings over there. Finally our newspapers arrived with cheering news. The "*Solidaridad Obrera*," a daily syndicalist paper tells us that the government did not dare to enforce the law. They feared the confederation would declare a general strike and paralyze the country. But the paper warned the workers against the perversity of the Minister of Labor. He will no doubt insist upon his law, because nothing annoys him so much as finding that nobody pays any attention to him in all Spain.

We later received private information telling us about real conditions there regarding the *Social Law*. It has not been enforced completely anywhere. Still the hydrophobia of the authorities has manifested itself inversely as the strength of the labor organization. That is, where the confederation is strong the authorities try to overlook facts so as not to make themselves ridiculous and fall into discredit. While in other parts of the country, we are told of wholesale detentions and persecutions. In other parts arrests are made on any pretext.

We have a letter from a comrade in Madrid, who tells us how they organized a demonstration and picnic. Seventeen large trucks were necessary to carry all

*C.N.T.—anarcho-syndicalist workers federation.

*U.G.T.—Reformist labor unions led by the Social-Democratic Party

the comrades to the place. Upon returning they drove through the main streets of Madrid, shouting "Down with the Minister of Labor!" "Hurrah for the F.A.I.*" (Federacion Anarchista Iberica). Even the soldiers on the street were applauding the demonstrators. At the same time the Secretary of the Committee for the aid of political prisoners of Coruna, informs us about conditions over there. In a long letter he tells us how it is necessary to use private addresses to escape the censorship of the Social-Fascist government. They want to compel the organization to provide the Labor Delegation, which represents the State, with a list of all the members of the Syndicates, their addresses, the financial condition of the syndicate, and how they spend it. If a member changes his residence, the Delegation must be informed. And any infractions of the law will receive severe punishment. The reader can very easily understand the condition of the Spanish workers who are so valiantly fighting for their emancipation.

* * *

Some readers may be interested in knowing our opinion regarding the recent Royalist uprising. The whole thing had its origin in one of the blunders of the Socialist cabinet. At the time when the republic was established, there was a question of swinging to the left or to the right. The Ministers of the new republic were always in fear of the powerful leaders of the Church and the King. But in order to keep them content they decided to give them important positions in the new regime. General Sanjurjo was appointed Director of the Civil Guards in the beginning, and later, when he gave orders to shoot the workers and public opinion was aroused against his cruelty, he was transferred to the Corps of Custom officers.

It was here that he had an opportunity to rebel. It was not the government who crushed his movement. Simultaneously with his declaration of the state of war, the workers of Seville answered with a general strike which totally paralyzed the city. And the proud general could not do otherwise than surrender. This does not mean that the Spanish workers sympathize with the republic in any way, but they had already had too much of Royalists and dictatorships.

In the meantime, the workers are trying to strengthen the structure of their syndicates, as well as solidifying their relationship with the F.A.I. There is no doubt that they face all kinds of difficulties. But they are sure that in order to get anything they must fight for it. Their aim is a social revolution, and with this in mind they are educating the masses. Their task is not an easy one, but the necessity of getting the exploited class out of the miserable conditions in which they exist, justifies every sacrifice. The Spanish workers will never give up until they bring about the Social Revolution and inaugurate a new society based upon Libertarian Communism.

V. MARTINEZ

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. . . Every great reform which has been effected, has consisted not in doing something new, but in undoing something old. The most valuable additions made through legislation have been enactments destructive of preceding legislation. And the best laws which have been passed have been those by which some former laws were repealed. . . . Indeed the mischiefs governmental interference has cost, has been so great that the wonder is that civilization could advance with such repeated obstacles.—BUCKLE

*F.A.I.—Anarchist Federation of Iberia (Spain and Portugal).

An Appeal

THE NEED for an Anarchist-Communist organ is most pressing. There never was a time when so large an audience, shorn of all hope, faced with uncertainty and hunger in this crisis, would lend so receptive an ear. The Vanguard undertakes to attract and hold to Anarchist-Communism the awakening youth who are becoming responsive to radical ideas by the present economic conditions.

To them we shall present a magazine alive to present day problems, which will analyze them from an Anarchist-Communist standpoint, and at the same time, offer a background from past events and literature for a better understanding of the present. We shall offer a magazine that will make them alive to the significance of today's labor struggles, that will expose their enemy in his multiform disguises, and will teach them to perceive the shams in the international games played by the modern imperialist nations. A true appreciation of these from an historical basis and a clear conception of our own goal will be the task of the Vanguard.

We appeal to our comrades and our sympathizers to give their utmost in financial and moral support toward our undertaking. A prompt and continued response will insure success in this serious work. We urge you to send in your own and your friends' contributions. We ask for your cooperation.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR "VANGUARD"

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ANNOUNCEMENT

FREIE ARBEITER STIMME BAZAAR

will take place

NOVEMBER 11, 12, 13

Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place & 15th Street, New York City
